CONGRESSIONAL.

DEBATE IN HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES. RECEPTION OF M. KOSSUTH.

House of Representatives, 'December 31, 1851.

The House being in Committe s of the Whole, and having under consideration the resolution offered by Mr. Carter, in the following words:

"Resolved, That a commit' see of five be appointed by the peaker to wait upon Louis K ossuth and introduce him to the louis of Representatives." Which Mr. VENABLE 'nad moved to amend by striking out all after the word "resolved," and inserting in lieu thereof the following, viz:

"That the Speaker be authorized to invite Louis Kossuth to a privileged seat with in this House."

And Mr. Disney, of Ohio, having addressed the House in some remarks (a sketch of which we have before published) favoring, ander certain contingencies, the doctrine of intervention in behalf of freedom to the Old World—Mr. CAMPB' ZIL, of Ohio said: I have not time now to reply to the remarks of my colleague (Mr. Disney).

Mr. CAMPB' LLL, of Ohio said: I have not time now to reply to the r emarks of my colleague, (Mr. Diskey;) I will, however, send to the Clerk's deak an extract which I wish to have read to the committee, from one who, though dead, yet li' seth, I trust, in the hearts of his countrymen; it is from the Farewell Address of Washington.

The Cle sk than read the following extract:

"The g read rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So has as we have all reads famed on seasonable by them be fullled with perfect, good faith. Here let stop:

"E arope has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in f requent controversies, the causes of which are essentially for sign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary v icissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and c collisions of her friendships or enmitties.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us foo pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose pence or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so pecuriar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?"

Mr. CAMPBELL, (resuming.) No better argument can be presented by any living man, upon the proposition just made oy my colleague, (Mr. Disser,) than the one which has been read at the desk. I do not propose now to add to it a single word. But I do desire to understand from my colleague, fully and unequivocally, the extent to which he proposes to go. I desire to know from him whether it is his design to advocate the doctrine of intervention, as it has been proposed by Louis Kossuth in the various speeches that he has made? I desire to know from him whether he intends to advocate the position that this Government shall declare to Russia, in the event of a struggle between Hungary and Austria, that she shall not interpose; and whether he would be prepared to back that de daration by war?

Here a question of order was raised that the time allowed for debate had expired, which being sustained by the House, Mr. Campbell had no opportunity of con-

But, after this point of order was settled, the debate was renewed under the five minutes' rule, which allows that length of time for explanation to any member who proposes an amendment, and a like space of time for some other member to realy to him

Mr. CHURCHWELL offered the following amendment: "Provided, that by the adoption of the pending resolution this Government does not depart from its long-established doctrine of non-intervention; and does not intend to endorse the doctrine of Kossuth, if that doctrine be direct interference by this Government with foreign Powers."

Mr. CHURCHWELL. Mr. Chairman, the amendmen which I offer is intended as an addition to the resolution. I do not desire to oppose the proposition to welcome Kostate to desire to inform him that in giving this welcome Congress does not intend to endorse the views which he seems to entertain. The honorable gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Disney,) while he declares himself to be in favor of direct interference by this Government, asks direct interference by this Government, asks ference in our path? I can answer that gentleman—we have no fear, nor have the people I have the honor to represent. They are the people of Jackson—liberal, generous, and brave. Nor am I, sir, to be frightened from rous, and brave. Nor am I, sir, to be frightened from the path of duty. I come with liberal views, and when I say that my heart is full of sympathy for those who struggle in the Old World for a change of government, and manifest a desire to adopt the institutions under which we have grown prosperous and powerful, I only express the feelings of my people. We should be glad to see the institutions which we so much prize, and which are so dear to us, established throughout the civilized world. institutions which we so much prize, and which are so dear to us, established throughout the civilized world. But while we entertain these views and are animated by these feelings, I do not feel prepared to go the length which Kossuth seems to desire. I am not willing to see resolutions adopted by this assembly touching the great question of intervention without expressing my dissent.

There are no people who are more generous in their feelings than those that I have the honor to represent; but while they would be willing to welcome the distin-

but while they would be willing to welcome the distinguished Hungarian, they would not agree that he should be the recipient of the nation's honor, if by that honor yonder canvass as though animate with life; the recoilec-tion of Jefferson, the sagacious statesman; the memory of Jackson, who rests in the bosom of his mother earth at the Hermitage, in my own native State, forbid us to take a step which has no parallel in the records of the history

a step which has no parallel in the records of the history of our country.

Kossuth asks—yea, demands the aid of the young American giant in his behalf. Sir, for such direct interference I am not prepared, nor are the American people. We have advanced to the high station we now occupy, commanding respect both at home and abroad, by adhering to our constitution and respecting the precepts of the sages who framed it. Sir, suppose we give him our sympathy as it was given four years ago to the French people, who it was supposed were auxions to enjoy free institutions, will you not bestow it unworthily? Grant that you give him the nation's sympathy, give him men, give him will you not bestow it unworthily? Grant that you give him the nation's sympathy, give him men, give him money—for, like Cæsar, he demands them—and who can foresee the result? May we not expect to behold in a few years the novel spectacle of Kossuth being crowned

foresee the result? May we not expect to behold in a few years the novel speciacle of Kossuth being crowned Emperor of the Republic of Hungary? We gave our sympathy to the French people. Bonaparte is a Republican Emperor. France is not free.

We are happy and independent. We have always recognised the feeling of independence wherever manifested, and given it our countenance without interference. And, sir, let us, for the high respect we intertain for the honored dead, pause and consider the step we are now inwited to take.

For myself, I am opposed to the adoption of the resolution unamended; and I am unwilling that it shall go to the country, especially after the eloquent speech of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Disker) in favor of direct international interference, without the expression of my

resolution, therefore, not coupling it with any conditions, explanations, or qualifications. Whenever the occasion arrives—I trust it may never come—which will make it important or necessary for our Government to make such a declaration as Kossuth would have us to make now, and to follow up that declaration with war; if it is necessary, I am ready for it. But this amendment is too indefinite; and I should not know what I was voting for or against if I vote for that amendment. What is the well-established doctrine and principle of this Government in regard to non-intervention? Can that gentleman tell me? It would require many pages and almost a volume to tell us what is the principle of this Government in regard to non-intervention. Again, what is the thing of the conditions of the continuation of the subject? The mint he has thrown out are entirely too crude for me to form any very socurate and definite notions as to his own ideas upon this subject. If that amendment be adopted, as it now stands, who shall say that we are authorized to interfere even with the affairs of this continent? Suppose that England, France, or any other foreign Power, should attempt to subjugate the Mexico, would we not be estopped from interfering in such a case, if we were to adopt that amendment? I say, again, therefore, that the amendment is too indefinite; and, in voting upon it, I should not know what I was voting for

or against.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HARRIS. I offer the following as an amendment

Archivent. to the amendment:

"And that said committee be instructed to inform Louis Kossuth (when they shall wait upon him) that the settled policy of this Government is: 'Friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none.'"

Mr. HARRIS said : The whole course of Kossuth sinc he reached our shores has been characterized by an amount of candor and frankness that is at least worthy of our imitation. Immediately upon his arrival in this country he announces distinctly the mission upon which he comes. He tells you plainly that he comes not for the purpose of partaking of your empty hospitalities or your emptier compliments, but that he comes in the character of a political propagandist—upon a political mission. He comes to ask this Government to interfere in the struggles that are going on in Europe: and after having thus distinctly announced to you his object, it is but natural that ne should construe every act of courtesy that you extend to him as an endorsement of that object; at all events, it is quite clear that he does so construe them. If gentlemen doubt this, I refer them to his speech at New York: in ced to you his object, it is but natural that he noticing the passage in the Senate of the resolution of welcome, he said "that it was said that the passage of

an infant republic, but not so now when we have grown to be a great and powerful nation.

My own opinion is that the principles and policy which were then necessary for the healthful development of the genius and powers of the young republic, are equally necessary now to protect the strength and purity of that Government when grown great and powerful; and if this principle was worthy of our adoption then—and experience has sanctioned its utility from that time to the present—it is certainly worthy of our maintenance, now and

If, then, the House intends to do no more than pay to Louis Kossuth a personal compliment, they will join me in adopting this amendment, and in paying that compliment. But if it is the intention of the House to do more than this, let them vote down the amendment, and Kossuth and the country will understand it as a declaration upon the part of the House of Representatives of the American Congress against that great and vital principle of non-intervention upon the part of this Government in the affairs of othe. Jovernments bequeathed to us as a rich and last political legacy by the Father of his Country.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The question now being on the amendment of Mr. Har-nis to the amendment of his colleague, Mr. Churchwell, tellers were demanded and ordered, and Messrs. Cling-MAN and HALL were appointed.

The question was then taken, and the tellers reported ages 82, noes 53.

So the amendment was adopted. The question then was on the adoption of the amendment as amended; and, being taken, there were—ayes 71, noes 77.

so the amendment as amended was not agreed to.

Mr. COBB moved to amend the original resolution by neerting after the word "Kossuth" the words "and his

we are alongy and independent. We have always recognised the recling of independence wherever manifested, and given it our countenance without interference. And, sir, letsus, for the high respect we intertain for the honored dead, pause and consider the step we are now invited to take.

For myself, I am opposed to the adoption of the resolution unamended; and I am unvilling that it shall go to the country, especially after the eloquent speech of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Diskrt') in favor of direct international interference, without the expression of my dissent. Kossuth has been honered on his way to the capital. More fortunate than most men in adversity, he has been taken by the hand and wolcomed by our distinguished men; gray-headed men, men who have grown up with the Republic, and whose heads are crowned with laurels for services in defence of the cause of fiberty in their country, have taken him by the hand and given him a hearty welcome to our shores. The Empire City has been taken by the hand and given him a hearty welcome to our shores. The Empire City has been consequently, have taken him by the hand and given him a hearty welcome to our shores. The Empire City has consequently have been consequently and the controversy at home, but are we prepared to usder take to restore him? The Bostbens were long out of power.

There seems to be a strange, wild infatuation pervading this assembly. Indeed, sir, I am at a loss to conjecture from what political wardrobe gentlemen have dressed in private conversation long since that, although I was distinguished stranger.

There seems to be a strange, wild infatuation pervading this assembly. Indeed, sir, I am at a loss to conjecture from what political wardrobe gentlemen have dressed in the control of the distinguished stranger.

There seems to be a strange, wild infatuation pervading this assembly. Indeed, sir, I am at a loss to conjecture from what political wardrobe gentlemen war, in which our own country was justly engaged. Sir, there are gentlemen have dressed

M. BISSIL. I desire to any one word upon the him to be explicit in his accuracy. Thus him to be explicit in his accuracy and the management of the management of the position of the management of the position of the part of the Governance of Courtey for the accuracy. May 1 and minds the country, that in voting for the resolution I mean to do nothing more than 1 have stated. But I am free to say, also, that Leuk Kossuth has advanced some doctrines there which I man oper-point to the to say, also, that Leuk Kossuth has advanced some doctrines and principles in regard to intervention of the country my views, by the courtey of the state of the say of the Governance of the Courtey of the state of the say of the Governance of the Courtey of the state of the say of the Governance of the Courtey of the state of the say of the Courtey of the state of the say of the Courtey of the state of the say of the Courtey of the state of the say of the Courtey of the state of the say of the Courtey of the state of the say of the courtey of the state of the say of the courtey of the state of the say of the courtey of the state of the say of the courtey of the say of the say

their firesides. And what would they say to him? Would they say to him, "Mr. Kossuth, we are sorry that Haynau did not butcher you and your wife?" Would they tell him that it would have been well for the world if Haynau had butchered him and his wife and children? Would they talk in that way? No, sir; not in my country. [Laughter.] They would tell him that they regretted the fatal calamity that overtook the Hungarian cause. But would they put on their knapsacks the next morning and go to Hun-gary to fight for her? I think not. And yet gentlemen tell us that if, after adopting a resolution of welcome to Cossuth: we now raise a committee to carry out that resolution, the construction will be put on it that we are prepared to take up our arms and go to war for the Hungarian cause. I repeat again that every syllable I have heard urged against this resolution is based upon a false assumption. In other words, you build up a man of straw and then knock him down. [Here the hammer fell.]

The question was then taken on Mr. Cobb's am and it was not agreed to.

Mr. DEAN moved to amend the resolution by striking out the words "the Speaker," and inserting in lieu there-

"Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by this House to wait upon Louis Koesuth and introduce him to the

House of Representatives."

Mr. DEAN. I am entirely satisfied with and shall vote or the original resolution, and should not have offered this amendment were it not perfectly evident, from what we have seen in this city and the action of this House, that there is an organized opposition who are determined not only to defeat this resolution, but, if possible, to offer insult and indignity to the illustrious guest of the nation. Any man who witnessed the arrival of Louis Kossuth yestayday, and say him received in the provident of the results of

For myself, I desire to say that, while I am as ready as any gendeman on this floor to extend to Kossuth a personal compliment, I am equally ready to resist to the last extremity on this floor any attempt to commit this Government to the desertion of that principle of non-intervention which we have cherished from the earliest infancy of our Government up to this hour. And if gentlemen intention more than a personal compliment, why should they object to the adoption of this amendment, which tells him plainly and frankly that that is what we intend, that it is all we intend? His frankness with us demands at least this much at our hands.

It is said by the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. DISNEY,) and others, that the principle of non-intervention was a reyport of the Adoption of this Government when an infant republic, but not so now when we have grown to be a great and powerful nation.

My own opinion is that the principles and policy which were then necessary for the healthful development of the genius and powers of the young republic, are equally necessar provided and the friends of the principles which he south; and it is determined to the destroin of that principle of non-intervention was a supported and powerful nation.

My own opinion is that the principle of non-intervention was a report of the adoption of this Government when necessary for the healthful development of the genius and powers of the young republic, are equally necessar prow to protect the strength and purity of that Government in the time has committee who, will be the principle of non-intervention was a proposed by this Congress, but to the world, that the time has come when the head out to the deminishing that the organization will enter their protests and the friends of the Administration are secretly stable implication to the heart in the processor of the Austria. When the leaves the minimum that the measure of the Administration are secretly stable that the output of the fermit of the friends of the Administration are secretly stable that the

I have said I should vote for the original resolution. I shall do so, because I consider myself so instructed by the almost unanimous voice of the citizens of my State. The people of the Empire city—the commercial emporium of the whole Union—have, by their enthusiastic reception of Governor Kossuth, and the people of the capital of that State have, at a public meeting, instructed me to vote for such a resolution. But I needed no such instruction. I should do it cheerfully, from the dictates of my own heart. No man needs an analogy for voting sympathies, the spontaneous sentiment of a free people, than the cool calculations of the shrewdest politician.

[In the middle of this sentence the Chairman's hammer fell.]

mer fell.]

Mr. WILLIAMS. I desired very much yesterday that I should have an opportunity to place my views and opinions with regard to this whole Kossuth matter fairly before the country. I have only five minutes now, but I feel disposed to express those opinions in an unbridled manner. The pretence, the hollow pretence, that that resolution is merely designed for the purpose of doing honor to Kossuth has been stripped of its plausibility, and the proposition now stands nakedly before the gaze of the American people. My colleague and friend from Tennessee (Mr. Hannis) offered a proposition here, in the language of George Washington, that we are prepared to enter into "friendly relations with all, entangling alliances with none." That was a plain and simple proposition, that could not have offended Louis Kossuth or any body else, but it was voted down by this committee.

Sir, the assertion that Louis Kossuth was invited here as the guest of the nation by the last Congress is not warranted by the records of the country. We found him an exile from Hungary, having voluntarily abandoned his high position as Governor of Hungary, and wended his way to a Turkish prison, and we offered him an asylum here. He lands upon our shores, and declares that he scorns your sympathy unless you follow up that sympathy and declare to the world that you are the propagandists of universal emancipation. That is the language of Kossuth in all his speeches. He proclaims to you that his country is in the attitude of a man who is drowning in the surf on the sea-shore, and if you delay assistance he is lost: just so, he says, it is with Hungary; if you fail or even delay to decide this question in favor of intervention, it is death to her liberties and to the liberties of the offer European countries. And yet, notwithstanding this declaration, the House and the country have witnessed in

tion, it is death to her liberties and to the liberties of the other European countries. And yet, notwithstanding this declaration, the House and the country have witnessed in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, not merely the rowales, but men of high character, and who occupy a high position in the American nation, following Kessuth and cheering him on, and sustaining him by contributing to a popular excitement unsurpassed in the history of our country. Even now, whilst I am speaking, that popular excitement is beating against the very base of this Capitol, and prompting the American people to disregard their cherished principles, and to proclaim that they are now in favor of intervention. Why, we have already heard that doctrine proclaimed in this hall, and I predict that in the approaching Presidential canvass it will be a leading element in the contest.

Sir, I have been surprised to hear the sentiment uttered on this floor by the gentleman from Ohio, and by other

I was not willing to canonize any man until death had fixed its seal upon his character. Two years ago, if Louis Napoleon had come here, there would have been somewhat

Mr. BAYLY. It was made to some extent without his coming, by the two Houses of Congress. Without his spiration of his presence, there was to some extent a manifestation of this unjustifiable disposition in the American character to idolize and to prematurely canonize—for that is the expression—these European advocates, as they are called, for liberty. I confess I am no great admirer of them. They are too transcendental for me. Louis Napoleon who may be presented to the state of t poleon, who now stands before the world as arrant a usurper as the world ever saw, two years ago received adulation. If his illustrious uncle, when at one period he stood before the world as the friend of freedom, had come here, and a disposition had then prevailed which now does to go mad over foreigners, he would have been deified; and ovations would have been made to him, not surpassed and evations would have been made to him, not surpassed by those made to Kossuth; and yet afterwards he became the scourge of humanity. I do not wish to commit this Government in any respect. I am free to say that I have not that admiration for those transcendental European advocates of liberty which I have for those who founded willing to abondon the policy of the fathers of the Repub-lic in a fit of enthusiasm for Kossuth. This amendment does not undertake to say what our policy shall be, but it precludes the idea that it is any thing more than what the friends of the resolution claim that it is—an act of courtesy that commits us to nothing. And, I ask, who can object to it?

welcome, he said "that it was said that the passage of this resolution had no political meaning, BUT THAT HE KNEW THAT IT HAD."

Indeed, sir, if this resolution passes without my amendment, while the speech of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DISNEY) and the speeches of other gentlemen in favor of intervention are ringing in his ears, what can he understand from it but a declaration in favor of that policy?

Sir, in my opinion the time has come when we should understand ourselves, and let Kossuth, the country, and the opinion of the House to commit itself to the policy of intervention of the House to commit itself to the policy of intervention in the affairs of other Governments, vote down the amendment that I have proposed, and let Kossuth and the country understand that we no longer adhere to that principle of non-intervention tage in the subject of the policy an object to it?

Mr. SWEETSER. It seems to me that the time for

> the consequences, it is the duty of this Government, there should be another outbreak in Hungary, to say the Autocrat of Russia that he shall not go there for there should be another outbreak in Hungary, to say to the Autocrat of Russia that he shall not go there for the purpose of beating down the flag of freedom. We are determined to see a fair fight. Whatever may be the consequences of that act, I take upon myself to say that one hundred thousand freemen from the central district of Ohio are prepared to back me in the sentiments which I express to-day. If I was authorized to speak for the whole American people, and had the voice of ANTICULATE THUNDER, I would tell the despotic Governments of Europe that henceforth, in contests for liberty, where constitutional freedom has been trampled under foot, there must be no such interference as there has been in the past. And, sir, whatever may be the responsibilities that attach to this declaration, I will no longer remain silent. I will pledge that portion of the people of my State that I am authorized to represent that they will, when the time comes, protest against the interference of Russia in another contest in Hungary for liberty. I say this in the Capitol of the Union. I hope that, if Louis Kossuth takes the trouble to read the debates here, he will find that Ohio, in this contest, is not only prepared to say to the world that we are here to-day for the purpose of representing the people of this country, and not for the purpose of representing the Autocrat of Russia or the other despotic Powers of Europe.
>
> Mr. STANTON, of Tennessee, moved to amend the amendment by adding thereto the following:
>
> "But if, in any great amergency, the Government of the

Mr. STANTON, of Tennessee, moved to amend the samediment by adding thereto the following:

"But If, in any great emergency, the Government of the united States can secure the liberties of Europe, by preventiant in the laws of nations by any practicable in the intervention of despotic Powers, this Government will not refuse to maintain the laws of nations by any practicable activities of its power."

Mr. S. said: My object in offering this amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Virginia is to do what I am sure I shall have no other opportunity of doing, to express my opinion in favor of the original resolution.

I am opposed to any declaration in connexion with this resolution of the disposition of this Government, either to interfere in European affairs, or not to interfere.

Mr. S. said: My object in offering this amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Virginia is to do what I am sure I shall have no other opportunity of doing, to express my opinion in favor of the original resolution.

I am opposed to any declaration in connexion with this resolution of the disposition of this Government, either to interfere in European affairs, or not to interfere.

Mr. S. said: My object in offering this amendment to the amendment whatever.

I am opposed to any declaration in connexion with this resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition is in conformity with that of the mover of the resolution of the disposition

occurring in this House and during this debate. Although it was manifest that he was for intervention on our part in the troubles of Europe, we had seen no endorsement of that policy by the representatives of the people in Congress. This is no longer the case. We have heard more than one distinguished member of this House announce that intervention in favor of universal liberty was our destiny and mission. We have more than once been reminded that we had nothing to fear, and there has been even some merriment at the apprehensions of those who thought it prudent for our Government to avoid the hazards of entering the whirlpool of European revolutions. We have been admonished that, although the doctrines of Gen. Washington's Farewell Address were suitable to the infancy of our republic, they were no longer applicable to

mashington's Farewell Address were suitable to the in-fancy of our republic, they were no longer applicable to the grown-up Power which now stood forth amongst the first on the platform of nations; that a new destiny and new duties had been revealed; and that to be insensible to them was inexcusable. Those whose ignorance or timidity induced them to advise caution have, by one gentleman from New York, (Mr. Dean,) been spoken of as the apologists for the butcher Haynau. I can assure him that the days of Anacharsis Cloots—the orator of the human race—are among the things that have passed by, never more to return; that Red Republicanism is at a discount even in France; and that it will neither exalt his reputation for practical wisdom nor as the possessor of the qualification of the elements of profound statesmanship, to fix a policy upon our country which shall present a future history like the roll in the prophet's vision, written within and with-out with "mourning, lamentation, and wo." I fear no just quarrel of our own; I apprehend nothing from the consequences of war in such a quarrel beyond the calami-ties necessarily belonging to that condition; but I shrink from that causeless and unholy strife which drenches a country in blood and strews the fields with the slain, which s productive only in the nurture of a savage and destruc ive spirit, the tears of widows, and the sorrows of or-chans. We have even seen the platform of Kossuth reommended for our adoption, and one and another ha penly avowed our duty to declare to the world our purpose aid the oppressed in their struggles for liberty.

The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Stanton) speaks f the present condition of Europe, where two millions of bayonets hold down and oppress more than one hundred millions of people. If the removal of this evil be our duty, we have indeed a great work before us, one concerning which I think we ought to prudently pause and ponder the consequences of the undertaking. He speaks of the pre-sent condition of France, whose liberties have but just been overthrown by Louis Napoleon. He speaks of the impri-sonment of Thiers, Cavaignac, and other deputies, and more than intimates that the time is near for us to intervene in such affairs. Sir, I think that the bursting of this learn the folly of being premature in even an expression of approbation for the measures in which national identity troyed. France has fallen by the institutions which were chosen by the people themselves. The army, which kept their liberties, has taken them for their own use, and a mushroom republic bids fair to find its maturity in a a mishroom reputation out in an it to find its maturity in a finished despotism. I admit that the imprisonment of the representatives of the people is a great outrage on the part of the President, and I do not wish to have it repart of the President, and I do not wish to have It reenacted here. Should the doctrines of those gentlemen
who see our duty in a mission of destiny prevail, we must
keep on foot such an army as shall enable us to fulfil it;
is may live to see the representatives of our people
forcibly ejected by our own troops, conveyed to dungeons
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and kept
by our own Executive, and he respectfully sential and he r

and to become citizens of the United States. Now, whn and to become citizens of the United States. Now, what do we see? Do you suppose that, if it had been known on the 3d of March, 1851, that Louis Kossath would come here to undertake to incorporate a new principle—a great principle in the foreign policy of our Government, which we have abstained from and kept aloof from until this time, under the advice of the great Washington, the Father of our Country—do you suppose that, if he had announced that as his intention at that time, we should ever have passed that joint resolution? Never, never! We passed it to aid the Ottoman Sultan in liberating from extreme danger the unfortunate exiles who had fled from their own country for life, and to afford them, as I say, a secure asylum in the United States. I them, as I say, a secure asylum in the United States. I think, sir, in passing that vote of welcome a week or two ago, we exhausted all our duty to him as members of this House; and by that vote welcomed him to the country, its protection, and to its hospitalities, if he should choose to become a citizen of the United States. I am opposed to the whole wearendings now before us, the original reto become a citizen of the United States. I am opposed to the whole proceedings now before us—the original resolution of my colleague from Ohio, (Mr. Carter,) and all the amendments. I say this House is not called upon to take any such step. Let us treat this gentleman with the utmost kindness; but to do more, to carry out the objects he now proposes, would be a departure from the national policy which has enabled us to become the admiration of the world. I would cheerfully unite, as a citizen of the United States, in promoting their settlement in this country, and rendering it a safe retreat and secure asylum to Kossuth and his associates in captivity. But, sir, let us adhere to the settled policy of the country; let us avoid "entangling alliances" with foreign nations, and wise legislation for the benefit of our own country, that our constitutional form of republican government is the wisest and best to promote the true interests of the people, and our example will be powerful for good in all the nations of the world.

The question recurring on the amendment of Mr. Bax-LY, it was rejected—Ayes 50, noes 85.

Mr. CHURCHWELL. I offer the following as an amendment to the resolution:

"Provided, That, by the adoption of the above resolution, compliment only is intended to the distinguished Hungarian."

I am astonished at the wild enthusiasm which seems to I am astonished at the wild enthusiasm which seems to pervade this assembly. We are told that this distinguished foreigner comes among us not seeking our interference with the Powers of Europe, not asking us to enter into an entangling alliance. What! do gentlemen recognise the speech which I hold in my hand, in which he says, "I desire the young giant of America to raise his arm in favor of that principle?" What principle, I ask, is it that he desires this young giant to adopt? He gives the answer in the preceding sentence of his own speecch. He he desires this young giant to adopt? He gives the answer in the preceding sentence of his own speeceh. He says, "We do not wish to fight against the world; the only thing which we desire is fair play." Yet gentlemen tell us that he comes not here seeking an intervention with foreign Powers! Why, he puts the question distinctly to the American people as a court and jury, and waits for the decision from the American Congress. Here is his concluding remark: "When that tribunal speaks, I must hear with sentiments of joy, if it is joyful, but with resolution and not despair, if it is not joyful. I have pleaded my cause." We are told by the gentleman from Ohio. my cause." We are told by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Carters) that perhaps we do not represent the views of the American people. Mr. Chairman, for one, I claim, when I speak upon this floor, to speak for the people of my district. I oppose this resolution not for the mere purpose of opposition, but because I believe the effect of the resolution will be to commit this Government to the doctrine of intervention, and I am not willing that it should pass without being accompanied by such a pro-

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Bissell) asks me where I get my notions of a long-established doctrine of non-intervention. I answer the gentleman that it is in the language of Jefferson: "Friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

I hope, if the resolution be adopted, that the amendment will also be adopted. If gentlemen, as they say, only intend to compliment Kossuth by the adoption of the resolution why not express it in so many world? He

resolution, why not express it in so many words? He has been frank; let us be equally so. I do not desire to detain this House longer, and with a simple reference to resolutions adopted by the Legislature of my own State honoring Kossuth as Kossuth, I yield the floor.

Mr. McMULLEN. I regret very much that the distinguished gentleman from Ohio was permitted to introduce this resolution originally. I have risen now, not for the

described search of survey and the model and keeper secure in authority by the army who can be an adverted and the secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in authority by the army who can be a secure in a se

Mr. STANTON, of Kentucky. I have an amendment which I propose to offer; after which I intend to ask the Clerk to read an extract from a speech of Kossuth's. I move to strike out all after the word "provided," and insert the following:

First. That, feeling interested in the maintenance of the laws of nations, acknowledging the sovereign right of every people to dispose of its own domestic concerns to be one of these laws, and the interference with this sovereign right to be a violation of these laws of nations, the people of the United States, resolved to respect and to make respected these public laws, declare the Russian past intervention in Hungary to be a violation of these laws, which, if reiterated, would be a new violation, and would not be regarded indifferently by the people of the United States.

Second. That the people of the United States are resolved to maintain its right of commercial intercourse with the nations of Europe, whether they be in a state of revolution against their Government or not; and that, with a view of approaching scenes on the continent of Europe, the Government should take appropriate measures for the protection of the trade of our people in the Mediterranean; and.

Third. That the Government of the United States should declare its opinion in respect to the question of the independence of Hungary, and act accordingly.

Mr. S. said: The amendment is simply the platform of Kossuth himself, as presented to the American people, and some climber of the production of proposition of the production of the pr